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TAMIL NADU ARCHIVES

H.F.M. 85

VERNMENT OF TAMIL NADU

DEPARTMENT

History of Freedom Movement.

Bundle no 2.

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B.P. No.	Mis.
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Books from the Collection Register of books on Gandhi

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பாதுகாப்பு பிரிவு-1

செப்பனிடுபவர் பெயர் L. லோகநாதன்

செப்பனிடுவதற்காக
எடுத்துக்கொள்ளப்பட்ட நாள்

செப்பனிட்டு முடித்த நாள் ஆகஸ்ட் 2007

சரிபார்க்கும் முதல் மு.நி.பா.எ. கையொப்பம்	சரிபார்க்கும் 2ம். நி.பா.எ. கையொப்பம்	ஆராய்ச்சி உதவியாளர் கையொப்பம்

BOOKS FROM THE COLLECTION OF REGISTRARS OF BOOKS.

GANDHISIM- By S.Spratt:

This book is an attempt to describe Gandhi's life and work in a realistic spirit from the point of view of qualified Marxism- Gandhi's life and mental development are described from this point of view. The book consists of 23 chapters .

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A FEW WORDS TO MR. M.K. GANDHI- By Sri Ramananda Saraswati Swami:

This is a small pamphlet of 27pages of the Crown Size- The Swamiji is a staunch believer in the Varnasrama Dharma and upholds untouchability; he was alarmed by Mahatmaji's propaganda for the abolition of untouchability and published this pamphlet to dissuade him from carrying on the propaganda.

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MAHATMA GANDHI- MAN AND HIS MISSION-

Contains an account of Mahatma Gandhi's life and teachings. With the description of his activities in South Africa and India; a sketch of NCO movement, Salt-Satyagraha March, his arrest and internment; sloumbe's interview, Sapru-Jayakar negotiations; the Round Table Conference, the Gandhi-Irwin Pack, the Rupture and the agreement with Lord Willingdon down to his departure for London to attend the Second Round Table Conference. Nearly one hundred and forty topics connected with Mahatma Gandhi are described- An Appendix containi[illegible] the appreciations of his life and character by

eminent men such as Rt. Hon.V.S.Sastri, Mr. & Mrs. Polak, Mr. C.F.Andrews Bishop whitehead, Prof. Gibbert Murray, Romain Roland, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Rabindranath Tagore, Rev. Dr. H. Holmes, Dr. William Kbirk, Mr. H.N. Brailsfod, Mr. George Slowcombe, Lord Irwon etc is added at the end.

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MAHATMAT GANDHI- The Indian National Congress and Greater Brita

Printed and Published by Kallat Raghavan, calicut 1940. The booklet was not far sale but for free distribution. The author who remains nameless belonged probably to Tiyya community, and like so many people of the depressed classes he was not in sympathy with the congress and the nationalist movement he believed that the slavation of his community could be attained only with the help of the British Government.

The papers included in this booklet were originally published between January and March 1940 in The West Coast Spectator, an anti-Nationalist and pro-British paper. The following sentence from the Publishers Note give us an idea of the author's mental outlook.

The wise and the good apart- and their number is sok limitee- mankind, in his view, might be divided for political purposes, roughly into two classes- pious fools, and cunning knaves. And he is very sad, and indeed we all must be to think that, in India today, these two classes are almost everywhere, getting more or less successful in siezing and keeping all power in their hands.

~~The table of contents noted below are bound to reveal~~xxx

ESSENTIALS OF GANDHISM:-By V.Swaminatha Sarama:

In the preface to this small pamphlet of 41 pages the author declares that Gandhi represents India's achievements of the past longings of the present and the hopes of the future; and that one must go back India's cultural heritage to unserstand him- He attempts to prove his thesis by citing extracts from the Vedas, upanishads, and the work modern writers both Indian and European and comparing with the statements, utterances etc of Mahatma Gandhi. The author closes his pamphlet with the statement, 'He (Gandhi) is the voice of India. He shows us how we can make our lives noble by following the path of truth, peace and non-vilence which alone shall triumph in the end.

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Mahatma Gandhi: by V,Mangalavedkar:

The booklet consists of 44 pages. In his foreword to the book S.Srinivasa Iyengar says that the author has attempted to describe the personality of Mahatma Gandhi. He has dealt with the subject both from the point of view of Mahatma Gandhi's descriples, followers and admirers and from that of his opponents, critics and caricaturits. The booklet is divided into seven chapters.

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GANDHI AND THE ANGLICAN BISHOPS:

A booklet of 64 pages. The name of the author is not disclosed; but he is said to be a hindu with a profound reverence for jesus christ. This booklet is a reply to the letter of the Anglican Bishops in which they condemned Mahatma Gandhi's Non-violent Non-Cooperation Movement. In section I he deals with the English Clergy and India politics. In spite of the studied attempt at fairness and impartiality, the bishops are not loyal to that spirit. They are not to blame if they cannot diviest themselves of their vested interests and inherited prejudices. The Bishops in their Zeal for the established order believe that the non-violent method of the famous Indian Politician is not the same as that of Jesus. This is wrong done to Jesus and a grave injustice to Gandhi.

II

The Bishops urge that the NCO movement is instilling into the minds of men race hatred. Gandhiji deplores it more than the Bishops. If Gandhijis followers do not leave up to his teaching we cannot legitimately complain against them. Their inability to live up to the ideal does not discredit the movement. Indians are no more given to wanton violence than any other people in the world. The arrogance and the race consciousness of the Europeans ~~is~~ arethe causes of the race hatred among Indians. The treatment of India after the war, the Punjab affair, the presentation of a purse to Dyer who practised the simple maxim of a thousand Indian lives for one European, the debate in the House of Lords on this question, the recent pronouncement of Winston Churchil on Indians in Kenya and a series of incidents form a record of race pride which Indians

cannot easily forget. If the hysteria of hatred is to disappear, the debauch of race-arrogance should be abandoned.

III

Gandhiji's way is the same as that of Jesus- salvation through suffering. The Indian knows the significance of the cross. The Jew may not understand it, the Greek may laugh at it, the Bishops may explain it away but the Indian knows that the path to the joy of heaven is as the sharp edge of a razor.

IV

The attitude of Gandhi towards the British Government is not the same as that of Jesus towards Rome. They are essentially the same. Resist not evil by violence, but conquer it by love.

V

Jesus unlike Gandhi rated highly the value of the stable Govt. and desired to incilcate a respect for Government in general as necessary to human society. True, Jesus rated the alue of Government; but he did not uphold tyranny and oppression. The non-cooperators are not as against all Government; they fight against oppressive Government for the purpose of introducing better form of Gove nment. It is not a question of law versus lawlessness.

VI

The Bishops support the trusteeship of the British. They (the British are the turstees for the progress of India, and they will be gaithfull to their trust even if means fighting for it. And all tht is Christian them will support them in so doing.

If the Bishops cease talking shibbothes of empires and trusts at the altars of which millions of God's creation have been slain andutter healing words of the peace-maker whose livery they wear, they will help the situation- Let this fact be noted. No amount of coercion can kill the will for freedom. The reforms have failed; only the grant of a new constitution of India determining the stages towards complete Swaraj to be attained in a decade or two can restore the impaired prestige of Britian and bind India fast to her. Will the Bishops promote shch a true christian reconciliation between India and England?

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<u>GANDHI AND THE YOUTH:</u> By S.Ramanathan:

The author of this book was a Minister in the First C.Rxxx Cabinent. He. is a communist and has no faith in Mahatma Gandhi or his movement. He condemns both and favours introduction of changes calculated to trasform India into a second Soviet Russia. His views are not well balanced and are couched frequently in violent terms. but the book is valuable as it embodies the ideas of a large section of the Younger generation Mr. Ramanathan advocates the abolition of caste system and the creation of a casteless society which does not admit of any differnces. He wants to overthrow the economic system which favours the landlords and capitalists- He has no sympathy whatever for the cottage industries, and treats the Charaka and Khaddar with contempt. He advocates the introduction of the machinery and industrialisation of the country on the Western lines.

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GOSPEL OF GANDHI- by T.C.K. Kurup.

In the preface, the author refers to mahatma Gandhi as a Great Teacher wonderful man- Though he differs from Mahatma Gandhi both in politics and economics, he presents only the good aspects of the Mahatma ignoring points, where I do not agree with him. After describing Gandhi's personality, his philosophy of life, his Christ like life, his love of humanity, his philosophy of jail life, Satyagraha or Turth Force, passive Resistence and Gandhian conception of duty the author concludes that though Mahatma Gandhi the Great teacher will pass away, the truth he taught incessantly, the rules of conduct he laid down for all times and above all the ideal of his inimitable example will serve as a teacher. We must walk along the pathos of Duty, Dhrama, love and duty pointed out by him.

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GANDHISIM IN THE ATOMIC AGE: by Y.G.Krishnamurthi.

In his foreword to this brochure, Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Iyer calls attention to the War mindedness of the powers and States that the only remedy for the ills to which human nature is subject can be the gospel of love and non-violence taught by Mahatma Gandhi-. The author according to him brought out that the purposes destiny demand a world adoption of Gandhiji's ideals of truth and non-vilence as the only cure for the multitudenes ills to which world has been subject. The book consists of four sections (1) Humanity in Fragments (2) Integral Humanity (3) Heralds of New Humarism (4) Gandhism in Atomic Age. The following passage in page 65 seems of the effects of Gandhism on Indian peoples:- "The Philosophy of Gandhi has enabled every Indian to stand up face to face with new life. The winds of Truth and love waft his (Gandhi's) banner. The Indian Nation has risen from humiliation to glory. With the same moral integrity India will rise from this glory to the lasting triumphs of spirit? On p. 69 the following para demands attention. 'In the realms of Truth, Love, Non-Violence, everyword every thought causes the world to progress in a direction opposed to the Ato mic Bomb. By lessening individual and group deffercilations these values awaken men into a more vicious and universal frame of mind. They also bring about a heroic change of heart.

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GANDHISM AND SOCIALISM: By Richard B. Gregg:

A small pamphlet of 40 pages: After a comparative study of the two systems, the author sums up the result as follows:-

(So it seems to me that the valuations methods and symbols of Gandhiji's programme are more important and valuable than the perpahs more definite and regid plan of organisation proposed by socialism. Gandhism is psychologically wiser and more effective than socialism.

As the two systems stand today, it is easier for Gandhism to select adopt and use the important parts of the programme of socialism than it is for socialism to adopt the important parts of socialism thus of tht wo systems, Gandhism seems the more flexible and comprehensive and therefore probably more lasting.

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QUINTESSENSE OF GANDHISM: By V.Naryanan:

The thesis of this pamphlet is that Morally Fittest will survive. On P. 16 we have the following:- Mahatma Gandhi is now the standing monument of the principles of the survival of the morally fittest. He is the most alive man today. He is irrepressible. He is the richest becuase he is the poorest of the poor. The Common notion that to give away is to lose and to take from others is to save is baseless and false. Gandhiji in his life has proved that. He gave away freely all that he had and he is now given all that he wants. It was an assertion of Swami Vivekananda that money is nothing and man is everything. That assertion is realised in Gandhiji.

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<u>SOCIALISM AND GANDHISM-</u> By Dr. B.Pattabhi Sitarqmayya:

This is no doubt an interesting publication. The book is divided into two parts.. There are eighteen chapters in all. The authors discountenances socialism introduced by violent reviolutionary methods as in the western countries. He is of opinion that Socialsim was not unknwon in India. As a matter of act, the ancient Hindu Society is built on socialistc foundation and Gandhiji movement is only an attempt to apply those old socialistic principles to modern conditions.

The last chapter of the book deals with peace army or Santi Sainyan, the santi sainyam is, as a matter of fact, the National Volunteer organization It is to be the nucleus of a new kind of army whose solder must function even after Swaraj- not with belt and baton, not with rifle and sword, but with a sign of peace on their persons and a spirit of sacrifice in their hearts. The chapter is interesting.

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GANDHI AND INDIAN REGENERATION: By T.C.Kurup.

In the preface to this book the author states, 'I set out the result of my studies on the present situation in India and have attempted on the present situation in Indida and have attempted to dpeict the views of Indians in general and of the two schools of Political thought. Moderate and Nationalist- in particular. Since both the views are given equal prominence, it is not intended that either side should be favoured.

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THE GANDHI SUTRAS By D.S.Sarma

There are 108 sutras in this book. The aim of the author is to present the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi in the traditional form of the teachings of other great sages of India who have proceded him and who have made Hinduism what it is? The Gandhi Sutras are divided into three chapters. The first chapter gives the general principles, the second deals with the Satyagraha and the third with non-cooperation and Civil Disobedience, the two main branches of Satyagraha. Each Sutra is followed by an English translation and in place of the traditional commentary extracts from Mahatma Gandhi's own speeches and writings bearing on the point are given whereever necessary.

******

SEVEN MONTHS WITH MAHATMA GANDHI VOL.I. By Krishna Das.

This book is siad to give an inside view of the Non co-operation movement of 1921-22. According to the author the events that happened during the seven months when he was with Mahatma Gandhi fall under the following four heads:

I. Awakening, that is Political awakening of the masses through the Non-cooperation movement.

II. Preparation- that is mass scale prepartations for political struggle of a non-violent character.

III On the March: that is the progress of the struggle in its critical stages.

IV. Halt- that is the state of abeyance in the struggle, implying a fresh course preparatiions-

The present volume deals only with the first ~~tow~~ two- The reamining two are said to form the subject matter of another Volume which the author intends to write.

This certianly is a very intersting publication. It embodies an eye witnesses account of the activities of Mahatma Gandhi during the period under consideration. It furnishes much valuable information about the NCO movement it shows clearly the great influence which Mahatma Gandhi had exercised on the mind of the people.

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MAHATMA GANDHI AND SATYAGRAHA (Tel. Verse): ByKaddireddi Koteswara Rao:

This is dialogue between Desamata (mother country) and a patriot describing the excellence of Satyagraha and its effects.

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B.C.Pal's Lecture on Rowlatt Bills :

The speech was delivered at Trichinopoly on 16th March 1919. Mr. Pal explains the reason why the Government of India wanted to introduce the Rowlatt Legislation. Defence of India Act would cease to be in force after six months. To punish revolutionary crime and bring their activities under control they want to arm themselves with powers similar to the DIA. Mr. Pal admits the existence of the revolutionaries and the revolutioanry crime and need for suppressing them; but he is of opinion that the method adopted by the Rowlatt committee appointed for the purpose of suggesting ways and means of suppressing it is wrong, for they have confined themselves exclusively to a study of Police records which are prejudicial and never attempted to establish direct contact with the revolutionaries, their report is naturally prejudicial; and the legislation based upon it is destructive of the elementary rights of citizenship. Therefore it is necessary to oppose it. How? not by violence by by the adoption of Passive Resistence, but it cannot be adopted by the masses, only a select few are fit to offer it successfully.

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ON THE DUTY OF CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE : By H.D.Thoreau:

The author is probably an American- and this pamphlet appears to have been written to justify Civil Disobedience. The following senteces which occur on p.9 gives the gist of the books.

All men recognize the right of revolution; that is the right to refuse allegiance to and resist, the government, when its tyranny or its inefficiency are great or unendurable.

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GANDHISM IN BATTLE FIELD By V.Narayanan:

The pamphlets starts with the refutation Bernard Shah's criticism of Non-vilence. Evils of militarism described and its failure pointed out. Then the flaming sword that is the soul force defined- Gandhi's satyagraha movement in South Africa described- Its victory- Then the Satyagrah movement in India-Cahaparan- Gandhiji's victory

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THE ROYAL COMMISSION AND CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE:

By T.K.V.Narasiah Pantulu:

The author of this book appears to have been, as far as one can judge from its contents, a very loyal subject of the British Government. It is deicated to His Majesty King Emperor George V. He is of opinion that constitutional agitation and sincere cooperation with the Ruling authorities are the only and sure means of success, and through them alone . We Indians should reach our political goal; but non-cooperation, unlawful activities and revolutionary outrages can hardly achieve this object of obtaining political freedom.

A campaign of viligication and calumny syas he has been set on foot by a few interested and misguided people who, taking advantage of the distrubed conditions created by the Civil Disobedience Movement, have misrepresented the policy of Government and spread disaffection amongst the law-abiding, innocent and peace-loving masses.

This small brochure has been brought out with the sole object of placing before the public, a correct account of the incidents, that have happened since the inauguration of the Mischievous Movement and the measures taken by Government for the last eight months to counteract its baneful effects.

The author is an ultra-loyalist, though there is room for doubt whether his protestions of loyalty are not hollow. According to him the destiny of India is eternally bound up with Britain. India is a dependency of Britian. Any assisitance that India can get in her onward march to progress can only be from the Brit[illegible]n nation. If we pin our faith in the good intenti[illegible] Britishsers... India will progress bringing i[illegible]

happiness to people.

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AN ABOMINABLE PLOT OR THE STORY OF K.C.I.E.

This booklet which narrates the story of Sir Subrahmania Iyer's letter to Dr. Woodrow Wilson, the President of U.S.A. It consists of a Foreward by Dr. Annie Besant, the letter of Dr. Subrahmania Iyer to the President, the statement of a number of the leading men of Madras which was referred to in the Subrahmania Iyer's reply, his interview with Mr. Montagu and the Viceroy, the letter of the Chief Secretary to the Madras Governmet to Sir Subrahmania Iyer. His reactions and resignation of his knighthood.

The most improtant part of the booklet is of course Dr. Subrahmania Iyer's letter to the President Wilson of U.S.A., which has already been extracted elsewhere.

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MOPLAH REBELLION- 1921: By Dewan Bahadur C.Goapala Menon.

The author lived in Calicut at the time of the Moplah Rebellion. The book says he has no pretensions to originality; it is a collection of materials arranged under different heads, from which the course of events during the period of insurrection might be followed.

It has no pretensions to be a history, it is simply a chronicle of events, a sketchy view based on the articles and news in the Madras Mail and the West Coast spectator-... I am also indebted to the West Coast Reformer...

Thou h Mr. Goapala Nair had no access to official records, he has gathered together in this a great mass of material not easily accessible to the General public he deserves praise for the comprehensive treatment of the subject in a fair and impartial manner worthy of a trained historian. As all the facts connected with the Moplah Rebellion have been collected already from confidential Government Records and Newspapers, a summary of Mr. Goapala Nair's book, valuable as it is, is not considered necessary. Nevertheless, the table contents which gives us an idea of the subject matter is appended below.

The Moplah Rebellion ; Military operations; Martial Law; The Malabar Police; Atrocities; Khilafat kings and Governors; Rebel Destructiveness; Train Tragedy; Relief Measures; Government Loans; Reconversion; Hindu Muslim Unity. There eleven appendices, one of which id divided into as many as four sub divisions.

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<u>THE RESURRECTION OF THE CONGRESS:</u> By D.N.Banerjea:

This pamphlet briefly traces the history of the Congress- change in its aim- originally congress prayed the British Government- to grant reforms. Gradually, it became bold and demanded that it should control the Government - the budget, the administration of the finances with the approval and under the direction of the chosen representatives of the peopbe. Alarm of the Government- Rally the moderates and suppress the extremists in the Congress at Surat- outbreak of the world war No. I. Mrs. Besants Home Rule propaganda- Hindu-Muslim concerdet- Captu e of Congress by the Nationalists in 1917- British Cabinets Declaration 1917- Regime of frightfulness- Jalianwallah Bagh massacre- Dismemberment of the Turkish Empire- Non-cooperation and unanimity of all the communities- Montagu's device of device of honouring the individuals who lost the confidence of the nation is the old Rally the Moderates policy in a new disguise- change in the character of the delegates to the congress- The ideal of Progressive Realization of self-Government by stages abandoned in favour of full freedom here and now.

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A Memorandum of the Real Indian National Congress Party submitted to the Government of India Regarding the Temple Entry Bill:

This bookket is prepared by the extreme section of the Kammas who call themselves Real Indian National Congress party., They are notorious for their Brahmin hatred. The booklet no doubt advocates the temples being thrown open to all communities especially Harijans; but that is only a pretext for vilifying Brahmins.

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THURTY-THIRD TAMIL NADU PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE-VEDARANYAM-1929:

Appeal to study Hindi- Himself a peasant workder and incorrigible Non-cooperator. The political situation- reluctance of Gandhiji to lead - Calcutta Resolution - not fulfilled- arbitrary acts of the Government nothing done by the people except to protest. Hindu-Muslim tension accute Council programme our undoing- Curse of Unthouchability- Bane of communalism, Hindu-Muslim and Brahman and Non-Brahman troubles- Khadi- prohibition- Government land revenue- Non-violent non-cooperation the only way.

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THE CONGRESS BRAHMIN'S NATIONALISM: By D.Raghvachandrayya Sa

The author is a member of the Kamma Community which is notorious for its anti-Brahmin virus- Mr. Satsast originally a Chaudry gives full vent to his feelings in this booklet.

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KAMYUNISTULU (Telugu)

This pamphlet explains the part played by the communists in the Freedom Movement struggle and the position of the communists visa vis the congress.

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CONGRESS SPEECHES OF ANNIE BESANT:

There are four speeches in the book delivered by Mrs. Besant at the Madras Congress 1914 Bombay Congress 1915 Lucknow Congress 1916 and the Presidential Address at the Calcutta Congress 1917 besides the special Message of the President of the Congress.

I. The speech of the Madras Congress 1917 lays stress Reciprocity and and self-government. The term Reciprocity was made use of by Lord Hardinge then Viceroy and Governor-General of India. She defines Reciprocity as follows: By reciprocity India means absolute equality of right between herself and any one of the self-governing colonies. She demands that whatever imposition they put on the entry of the citizen of India India shall have a

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right to put on the entry of anyother citizen. She demands that, as in Canada, if an equal law is laid down for every emigrant, white and coloured, then she has no quarrel, but if a special law be made against Indians, if a law is made that they may only come direct from India to Canada, where there is no line of steadmers that can bring them direct from one country to the other the then India shall say that no Canadian shall come to India unless he comes along a line on which there is no steamer tocome.

India demands that if a Rhodes scholar from oxford comes into the civil Service of India, then an Indian Civil Servant shall have the right to go into the Civil Service of the colony, and he treated, in that colony to the same as the Rhodesscholar can claim in the civil service of India. That is why weak absolute equality at both ends of the line.

Then she refers to the condition of the Indians in Australia , Fiji , S.Africa and oth r places.

Self-Government- (1+ Training for self-Government by which only self-government can become a blessing to the country (2) the attainment by the people India of a system of Government similar to that enjoyed by the self-governing members of the British empire, and the participation by them in the rights and responsibilites of the Empire on equal terms with those members. This claim of self-government on equal terms in the Empire is no new growth born of War.

II. The speech at the Bombay is entirely devoted to self-Government. Demand for expansion and ...tive councils so as to make them.

them an effective control over the acts of the Executive Government- If these are given then you have self-governme

Three reasons for granting of Self-government:

(1+ Practical need for legislation on ce tain vital points

(2) Economic condition of the country;

(3) Historical justification for granting self-government

III Lucknow Congress:-

Some say we ought not to embarass the British Government by raising such a question as this in the middle of the war.- We are only following the example of the self-governing Dominions- The advice of Mrx.Bonar to the Dominions to strike While the iron was red hot. We take the advice though unasked. After the war the iron will be very cold and no blacksmith will allow the red-hot iron to cool before he begins to strike to the shape and form he wants.

Talk about the five nations- United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and North America- forming a federated empire after the War- No mention of India- Why? becuase she is coloured- right of the colourless people to dominate and rule over the coloured- This coloured nation is not willing to accept the doctrine- We will never bow benedath the yoke of the colonies.

Don't spread bitterness against the colonels:- What is this talk about bitterness. Bi is created by the colonies and not by India- This ad should have been given to the colonies and not Indias who have had no share in the making of the feeling s

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Your are not fit to govern yourselves- you are ignorant- The Government have created disunion amongst us- and they stand in the way of the spread of Education. Does it be in the mouth of the English to repreach us with ignorance?

You cannot defend yourselves. The British have passed the Army Acts and emasculated the Indian; denied Indians opportunity military training- until we get the Home Rule we cannot be armed as we should be and defend ourselves. Some other objections against granting self-government to India are answered in a similar way.

IV. Calcutta Congress- Presidential Address. The following subjects are dealt with in the address:-

(1) The war and pre-war Military Expenditure;

(2) Causes of the New spirit in Asia- These are-

(a) The awakening of Asia;

(b) Discussions abroad on Alien Rule and Imperial Reconstruction;

(c) Loss of belief in the superiority of the White Races;

(d) The awakening of the Merchants;

(e) The Awakening of women to claim their ancient position;

(f) The awakening of the Masses.

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WHY INDIA DEMANDS HOME RULE:

First: Freedom is the birthright of every nation. This is the vital reason (a) Definition of a Nationa. It is a spark of the Divine Fire outbreathed into the and gathering around a mass of individuals whom it binds together into one. The Magic of nationality is the feeling of oneness and the use of nationality is to serve the world in the particular warfar which the type fits it. But to render its full service to humanity it must develop along its own lines and be self-determined in e volution. It must be Itself and not another.

(b) the cry for self-Rule- not a cry of mere selfishness, but a demand for the evolution of its own nature for the service of humanity, a and of the deepest sprituality, an expression of the longing to give its very best to the world.

(c) Stunting of the race.- Fo eign Rule creates a feeling of inferiority in the minds of Indias- dwarfting and stunting of the Indian Race (Ghokale) Administration by a bureaucratic agency imported from aborad has acted as dead weight on the Soul of India necessarily dwarfing in us all feeling of self-respect (Bhupendranath Bain). This stunting of the race begins with the education of the child, and proceeds without let or hindrance in our High schools reaches its climax in our colleges. Most of the teachers who educate our youghmen in colleges are foreigners largely Britishers. The education department controls the education given. It is planned on Foreign models, and its object is to serve foreign rather than native ends, to make docile Government servants rath[illegible]triotic citizens; hgih spirits,

courage, self-respect are not encouraged; pride in country, patriotism ambition are looked on as dangerous, and English instead of Indian, ideals are exalted, the blessings of a foreign rule and the incapaicity of the Indians to manage their own affairs are inculcated. What wonder that boys thus trained of ten turn out, as men, time servers and sycophats.--- become selfish and care little for public weal? Their own inferiority has been so driven into them during their most impressionable years, that they do not even feel.... the intolerable degradation of a foriegn yoke.

(d) Indian Rights;- Freedom and self-government are the birth right of the Indians like all the other peoples of the world. It is but natural that they should fight for their birth-right. The days when the Indians prayed for a larger share in the Government of the country, and felt grateful for the boons granted by the British are past. Indians have opened their eyes, realised that they are men with mens right to freedom in their own country . 'India is no longer on her knees bor boons, she is on her feet for Rights.'

II Secondary Reasons:-

(a) Tests of efficiency- British Government in this country should be a continously progressive Government- That is one of the fundamental conditions of their peculiar position- four tests of continuously progressive Government (1) moral and material improvement of the masses of the people (2) giving a larger share in the administration of our local affairs (3) popular voice in the councils (4) Admission of Indians into the public services.

(b) necessity for the change of the system- offici

(c) Non-official Anglo-Indians- They are arroga and domineering - against aspirations of the people.

(d) Reaction is England- Exercise absolute power by her officials in India injurious to her interests.

The application of these tests shows that the British have not acquitted themselves well. That is the reason for the demand of Home Rule.

Administrative Reforms:

Is India totally unfit for domcracy? The opinic of the ICS 'Yes' and the historians 'NO' - Reforms envisaged

(a) Reforms in local self-government (b) The Panchayat (c) Taluk or Tahsil Boards (d) District Boards (d) Local Government Board;

Provincial and supreme Legislative Councils: The New objective- only with regards British India (1) India States will have to be considered the Paramount power. No arrangement should be allowed to be made which would admit princes who are either absolute or do not rule on lines similar to those of British India into our councils. (ii) with regards to Central Imperial Authority India must have a position commensurate with her position She should not be ruled either by the united Kingdom or the Dominions.

III) Legislative bodies- supreme as well as provincial- to be unicameral (iv) the prerogative of the crown while appointing Governor-General and the Governors with the approval of SS, shall also call upon a member of the Legislative Council to form a ministry- The members of

The members of the Ministry shall be sworn as privy councillors, but they must be removable by a vote no confidence by the Legislature (v) Army and navy to be under the Viceroy as the representative of the Crown- Expenses to be borne from revenues of India- Contribution of India to the Imperial defence to be adjusted between the Government of India and War Council (vi) The formation and regulation of the mercantile marine to bevested in the Government of India subject to international regulations to be determined after the war. Reference to the continued internment of the Ali Brothers - our commuanl differences.

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REPORT OF THE CIVIL DISOBDEINCE ENQUIRY COMMITTEE:

The committee of Enquiry was appointed in pursuance of a resolution of the AICC at its Lucknow meeting in June 1922:

The Report is divided into ten subdivisions:

(1) Introduction (2) The advent of Non-Cooperation (3) The orgy of Repression (4) The triuimph of Non-Violence (5)Successes and Failures, (6) Civil Disobedience (7) Entry into the Legislative Councils (8) other Proposals and Recommendations (9) Conclusion and (10) Summary of conclusions;

Besides these there are three Appendices----
Appendix I- Report of the Khilafat Inquiry Committee;
Appendix II - Statements of Leading Indian Politicans
AppendixIII- Opinion of Newspapers-

Bombay Chronicle, Swarajya, Bengalee, Leader, Independent, Tribune, and Mahratta.

INTRODUCTION:

Resolutions of the AICC meeting at Lucknow on the 6th, 7th and 8th June 1922 empowering the Congress President to appoint the Committee of Enquiry quoted extenso- scope of the enquiry stated- natu e of the evidence. to be taken defined-459 witnesses submitted written answers of these 93 did not attend and the rest (366) orally examined- Enquiry conducted in camera Reasons- (1) Enquiry Confidential in character and (2) to encourage witnesses to speak out their candid opinions without let or hindrance. Evidence not printed- Proposal to pringt- not undertaken owing to the heavy expenditure involved. Tour-Propaganda-

Gravity of the task- The greatness of Mahatma Gandhi.

Great, however, as is our respect and admiration for Mahatma Gandhi, we have not allowed it to come in the way of our clear duty. We have approached his work with severence but have examined with care. We have endeavoured to face existing conditions with an open mind controlled only by our unshakable fiath in the high purpose of the Great movement. We have discountenanced open revolt against the general sfheme of non-violent-Non-cooperation at one end and utter subservience to the minutest detail at the other.

CHAPTER I.

ADVENT OF NON-COOPERATION.

Crisis of 1919- Rowlatt Bil.- an unmistakable symptom of a deep rooted disease in the Governing body? passed into law in the teeth of Indian opposition in and out of the council passing of the Reform Act- an apology or eye wash for real reforms- The Punjab atrocities- demand for a royal commission- appointment of the Hunter's commitee- appointment of another committee by the congress with Mahatma Gandhi and other lawyers- The Punjab Government refused to allow the leaders in prison to appear in person and tender evidence- The Congress refused to lead evidence before the Hunter Committee A step in the direction of Non-cooperation was thus taken.

Amritsar Congress:- On the eve of the meeting of the Congress, Royal Assent given to the Reform Act. Amnesty to all political prisoners not guilty of violence. Ali Brothers and the Punjab Leaders who were released attended the Congress sessions- Great enthusiasm- Disclosure of atrocities by the Hunter Committee caused a thrill of horror- co

the Hunter Committee caused a thrill of horror - concessions in the Reforms Act ludicrous by small- opinion of the Moderates- reforms inadequate- unsatisfactory and disappointing.

Special Congress sessions called to meet at Calcutta:-

Reasons:- Suspicion caused by the delay in publishing Hunter Commitee Report subsequent publication- majority and minority reports- unsatisfactory attitude of the Government of India and the SS.- passing of an Indemnity Act to shut ordinary legal remedies-

TOWARDS N C O:

Highest of the people to refuse to assist the Government that will not listen to their grievances- After the partition of Bengal Ghokale while presiding over the Benares Session of the Congress in 1905 said, "Good-buy to all hope of cooperating in any way with th bureaucracy in the interests of the people. I can concieve of no greater indictment of the British rule than that such a state of things should be possible after a hundred years of that rule? Lokamanya Tilak expounded the principle of non-cooperation in 1907; and again Ghokale while moving the resolution on the Indians in South Africa at the Lahore session of the Congress in 1909 defined the passive Resistence as follows:-

'What is the Passive Resistance struggle? It is essentially defensive in its nature and fights with moral and spiritual weapons. A Passive resister resists tyranny by undergoing suffering in his own person. He pits soul-force against brute force; he pits the divine in man against the brute in man, he pits suffering against

~~the divine in man against the brute in m~~

oppression, pits conscience against might, he pits faith against injustice; right against wrong. Mahatma Gandhi expounded only the practical policy and programme of Non-cooperation. Injustice done to India in the matter of the Punjab atrocities and of the Khilafat served as a fertile soil- seed thrown by Mahatma Gandhi immediately took root.

First Khalafat Resolution: All India Khilafat conference at Delhi in November 1919:

Resolution- The Musslamans of India shall progressively withhold all cooperation from the British Government. This reaffirmed at the Calcutta sessions Muslim League and other Conferences. Madras Khilafat conference in April 1920. Progress scheme of Non-cooperation defined (1) Renunciation of honorary posts, titles and memberships of councils (2) Giving up of posts under Government (3) giving up of appointments in the police and military forces (4) refusal to pay taxes.

LEADERS CONFERENCE AT ALLAHABAD:

NCO referred to the conference of leaders which met at Allahabad in June 1920- Committee consisting of Mahatma Gandhi and some Muslim leaders to draw up a programme.

The Calcutta Congress; Sept. 1920 (Special)

Resolution on Triple Boycott-

Mahatma Gandhi proposed it in the subjects Committee- All the Muslim Members excepting Jinnah supported it. Large body of Nationalists headed by C.R.Das opposed it.- Carried by majority both in the subject committee and open session of the congress.

NAGPUR CONGRESS- 1920:

Elections to councils- Boycotted by all nationalist- The resolution of the Calcutta session re-affirmed- revised and recast in a form acceptable to all parties in the congress- Boycott of the Duke of Cannaught-

NEW CONSTITUTION:

Change in the congress creed- Destribution of the Provinces on lingustic bais- Congress and its subordinate committees- WC of AICC- Wc criticised as favouring centralization- it undoubtedly assumed considerable importance- had large share in directing congress policy.

Bexwada meeting of AICC Resolution calling on people (1) to collect one crore of Rupees (2) to enlist one crore of members to introduce 20 lakshs of chakas into the Indian House holds by 30th June 1921; 1st items- oversubscribed- The other two not completely successful. AICC meeting at Bombay - attention concentrated on the complete boycott of foreign cloth by 30th September 1921- and stimulating the increased production of khaddar- Detailed instructions issued to subordinate congress organizations and congressmen for the successful achievement of that object- Resolutions boycotting the forthcoming visit of the Prince of Wales and the liquor shops shops passed, but civil disobedience postponed- though permission was given to provinces and localities where conditions necessitated it provied that sanction of the WC through PCC was obtained.

AICC meeting at Delhi in Nov. 1921- Arrest and imprisonment of Ali Brothers- disturbed the even tenour of Swadeshi and temperence work. AICC authorized every provin[illegible] on its own responsibility to undertake Civil Disobedience including non-payment of taxes in the manner that may be considered the most suitable by the respective congress committees.

Ali Brothers who appealed to the Government servants especially the military and police considered not guilty; for it is the inherent right of every citizen to pronounce his opinion upon the advisabiliyt of the Govt. servants leaving civil or military service, and that it is the inherent right of every citizen to appeal in an open manner to the soldier or civilian to sever his connection with the Government which had forfeited the confidence of the vast majority of the population of India.

AICC Last meeting of the year- Hakim Ajmal khan elected to act as the President of the ensuing Congress session in the place Sjt. C.R.Das the President elect who was then un under trail prisoner.

According to a resolution of the WC at its session on Bombay in No. 1921 the volunteer Boards were centralised as a result of the application of Crimimal Law Amendment Act to them especially in Bengal UP and the Punjab.

ORGY OF REPRESSION:

The rapid spread NCO movement all over India embarassed the Government. Though they gave pin pricks to non-cooperators here and there, they did not begin repression, as they were afraid that it might strengthen the movement. Instead they attempted to kill it by rediculle- Lurid pictures were painted Afghan bogey, Bolshevic menace etc were brought into prominence- appeals were made to legislators to stand by their Government- All these produced no effect. The Government of India then urged the provincial Governments to resort to repression.

ORGY OF REPRESSION: Notorious Rainey Circular in Bihar- attempt to suppress non-coperators by means of seditious Meeting Act, Criminal Law Amendment Act, and Sec. 144 and security sections of Cr. P. C - Government servants urged to form Amam sabhas in UP some moderates joined them but they proved a dismal failure- Britishsers and the Anglo-Indians called for firmness- Propaganda by the Emergency Committee of the India- British Association- Result- Arrest and imprisonment of Ali Brothers- The effect of this on the people- Thousands all over the country repeated the offence for which they were punished. Government completely non-plussed- not a single prosecution was undertaken.

Visit of H-H. the Prince of Wales:

Engineered by the bureaucracy and the Government of India for the purpose blessing the highly controversial reform which Indians had rejected.

That was the reason for the resolve of the Nationalists to boycott the visit. Even the Moderates were against it. The bureaucracy resorted to repression especially in the Punjab, UP1, Bengal and Assam because they wanted a quite atmosphere for HRH. Free use of Cr. Law Amendment Act, Cr.P.C. sections 107 and 108 and 124 A & 153A of IPC. Protracted Trail of Desabandu C.R.Das, the President designate of the congress sentenced to 6 month's imprisonment. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad Vice Preisent of the Central Khilafat Committee arrested and sentenced under 124A Cr.P,C. and sentenced to imprisonment. Lala Lajpat Rai arrested and convicted but released and reconvicted. Jawaharlal sentenced to 18 months. Premium on false evidence.

The security sections were freely used in Tamil Nadu and Andhradesa therefore Kerala comprising the Miplah country, stands by itself for the inhuman bar barities committed by a fanatical population on the one hand and the infuriated forces of law and order on the other; while the notorious Malabar train tragedy easily beats the worst popular excesses committed in any part of India for the callous disregard to human life it has revealed. Utkal and Andhra have come in for a fair share of severe repression and stand only next to Northern provinces.

Summary of Non-cooperation Activities:-

Gandhi Cap and Khaddar dress- an anathema to the Police- Brutal assaults of the police on congress volunteers- withholding of irrigating water supply and refusal to grant Takavi loans- forfeiture of jagirs, destruction of the records of the congress and the Khilafat offices and national educational institutios etc.

Wonderful manifestation of the spirit of Non-Violence- H.R.H's procession ro

stage managed- Hartal everywhere.

CHAPTER III.

SPIRIT OF NON-VIOLENCE:

Ahamadabad Congress resolution- Repression in Northern India- The lock ups were full gails were over crowded Repression ceased to keep pace with the upheaval and dropped its heavy hand through sheer safety-Viceroy puzzled and perplexed.

29th Dec. Bardolis decision to lauch mass C.D Crime of Charu-i-Chaura on 5th Feb. 1922 changed the outlook. Mass C.D. suspended All activities specially designed to court arrest and imprisonment and all volunteer processions, public meetings merely for the purpose of defiance of notifications regarding such meetings were stopped till further instructions and a new programme of constructive work was laid down.

'Mr. Gandhi 's intensive movement during the year 1921 and 1922 has diffused far and wide amoung classes previousl y oblivious to political considerations, a strong negative patriotism born of the race hatred of the foreigner. The less prosperous classes both in the town and the countryside have become aroused to certain aspects of the existing political situation. On the whole this must be pronounced, up to the present, the most formidable achievement of the non-cooperation movement. That it has certain potentialities for good will be maintained by many that it will immensely increase the dangers and difficulties of the next few years can be denied by few.

This is nearer the truth than the statement of Earl Winterton in H of C. Threats of the Premier and the Viceroy- Those who have eyes to see can read the answer to the recent threats uttered by the Prime Minister and the Viceroy in the grim determination of the people to continue the struggle at all cost till they are masters in their own house.

CHAPTER IV.

SUCCESSES AND FAILURES.

RESULTS OF VARIOUS ITEMS OF NON-COOPERATION:

(1) Boycott of the Councils- Calcutta (Special) congress mandate- in response Nationalists withdrew their candidature- majority of the voters abstained from going to the pools notwithstanding undue pressure put on them- According to official statistics 70 or 80 percent abstained for the provincial councils and 80 per cent from the Legislative Assembly.

(2) Boycott of schools and colleges- National schools and Colleges started- number insufficient- Therefore while some of the students who had come out of the Government schools and colleges joined the national schools and colleges or became congress workers, the majority was obliged to return gradually to their old schools owing to the unfortunate paucity of national institutions. The boycott of schools and colleges resulted in adding to the ranks of Congress workders, some of the more ardent youngmen, whose patriotism and enthusiasm have greately advanced the cause of the country. It must be admitted that so far as the effort was directed to the weaning of the students from the Government schools and colleges, it

it has met with poor success, but it cannot be doubted that the spirit of non-cooperation has been larhely imbibed by the student population of the country as a whole. The moral victory of non-coopeatio[n] is complete. It has destroyed the prestige of the Government institutions and put the students on their guard against their evils.

(3) Lawyers, litigants and law courts. 'If success is to be measured by the member of the lawyers and litigant[s] abstaining from resorting to the courts, it must-- be admitted that this item of the programme has failed ... The fact that practising lawyers in far larger numbers are wholehearted by supporting the movement in different ways, especially in the constructive part of the programme and literally contributing to the Tilak Swaraj Fund shows that the profession as a whole has well caught the spirit of non-cooperation . Support Bar councils and vakils associations- Lawyers who have not given up practice are not disqualified from joining the congress organizations and holding any office to which they may be elected. In some provinces rules were passed by congress committees to exclude practising lawyers from participating in congress activities- This inadvisable and injurious to the success of the Nationalist movement.

Establishment of the Panhayats necessary concomitant of the boycott of law courts. Panchayats lacked necessary sanction beh nd them, though many established and some worked well and efficiently, they were quickly swept away by the hand of repression.

(4) Titles - Very vew renounced their titles- the honours have been as full as and perhaps even fuller than before. Nevertheless the boycott of titles must be considereed a striking success; for the honour and glory have departed from them. Titles have ceased to be paraded in public and semi-public functions outside Government Houses and official documents and the unconfortable bearers of honorific prefixes to their names prefer to be referred to as plain Pandit, Lala- Munshi or Mr. While the man in the street turns away from them the moment he discovers their abnormality.

(5)Boycott of foreign cloth-khaddar, its popularity- large demand- spurious khaddar- measures to counteract-

Tilak Swaraj Fund- progress hampered by repression- another reason, no statements of account showing receipts and expenditure could be published by the committee, as they were deprived of their records by the police. The enlsiting of the members to the congress did no also progress in a satisfactory manner- volunteers- their readiness for sacrifice- but they were lacking in discipline- care must be exercised in enlisting them- some of theose that had been recruited have done no credit to themselves or to the movement.-

Unthoughbility, sore point in Southern India- to some extent in Central and Western India also- much practical work has not been done to remove this blot. Wants of inter-communal amity- This constitutes the sole cuase of divisions, strife, conflict and anarchy- civil services stand in the way of inter communal amity- unless the services are removee communal amity cannot be effected.

Members of the Indian Civil Service believe that an unbridgeabl gulf separates one community from another, especially, the Hindus and Muhammadans. The average civilian sees danger in the two communities coming together, unless both sides are known to be thoroughly loyal. In addition to the civil servicemen, there are mischief makers among Indians themselves who would promote divisions strife, conflict and anarfhy to please the civil service and thereby advance their own interests.

The only radical cure for the diseases is the entire elimination of the mischief maker, but that, in view of the conflict of interests.. cannot happen unless and until and costly maintenance of the Indian Civil Service ceases to depend upon divisions, strife, conflict and anarchy and in otherwords unless and until Swarajya is established. It is only then that the mischief maker will lose his occupation and think of some other opening for his activities.

CHAPTER V.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE:

Three classes of witnesses examined- class I advocate constrivtie work- on its own merits and as a means of preparing for mass civil disobedience- immediate adotpion of defensive civil Disobedience in some form . Class 2: believe that without adventitions aid of individual Civil Disobedience offensive or defensive, contrustive programme can succeed- Class 3: Consider that constructive work is not essential to civil disobedience movement or to the attainment of Swarajya- All are however agreed that there is need for some definite action.

What is to be the nature of this Action?

Should it be mass civil disobedience as mentioned in AICC Resolution passed at Lucknow? Stringent tests laid down by AICC meeting at Delhi in Nov. 1921. Judged by them, the country is not fit for mass civil disobedience. Should it be general No-tax campaighn? As in the case of the Mass Civil Disobedience, the Country is not yet ready for launching general No-tax campaigh- "It is enough to state here that the country is not ready at present to undertake general Mass Civil Disobedience or a general no tax campaign in any province or district. The question of of offering mass civil disobedience to a particular law and order or some local or provincial tax must in all cases be left to the decision of the Provincial Committee- no hard and fast rules can be laid about it. They should first satisfy themselves that the case is urgent and that the people concerned are ready to suffer all the consequences with perfect non-violence- Should it be indivudal defensive civil disobedience? Weight of evidence preponderates in favour of it. This is met by the Delhi Resolution of 24-25 February which permits both aggressive defensive Civil Disobdence and subjects it to the previous snaction of the Provincial committess- but the Delhi Resolution of 24th 25th February applies only to indivudaul civil disobedience and cannot include Mass civil disobedience. WC Resolution of 17th and 18th March is not intended to restrain Provincial committees; it warned them against the hasty use of powers. Illegal orders are not binding; they can be rightfully disobeyed. We desire, therefore, to make it perfectly clear that Civil Disobedience as we concieve it, has nothing whatever to do with illegal orders and that it is the indisputable right of every

citizen to break them at will . It is not however possible for people to know what is legal and what is not . In all such cases, the Provincial committees would do well to indicate the lines on which alone action may be taken and further to make it clear whether they are advising civil disobedience or merely non-observance of an illegal order.

CHAPTER VI.

PartI.

ENTRY INTO LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS.

Viess of Sjts. Kasturi RangaIyehgar, M.A.Ansari and C.R.

Entry into councils involves violation of the principle of non-cooperation- a retrogression in the policy of the congress, would enable the Government regain its lost prestige- country generally against the entry- entry would involve coopeaation with the Government partly at lea though not wholly- chances of Congress majority in the legislatures remote- owing to the existing rules eminent leaders disqualified from contesting the election- so long as the rules are not modified, it will be inconsistent with the dignity of non-cooperatiros from entering into the councils. Oath of the members of the Legislature involves a breach of the principles of non-cooperation- No useful purpose can be served by the entry into Legislatures. Government under the Act and the Rules can effectively prevent any deadlcoks. Propaganda for council entry will trhow the construve scheme in bold shade of neglect- The embroilment of the Non-cooperatiors in the elections is sure to breed strife in their own ranks. Change of the Congress programme inopportune at this junture.

Consolidatiom of the national forces is needed; but the entry into the councils would lead to disintegration and disunion- Mahatma Gandhi is firmly against entry into the councils.

CHAPTER VI.

Part II.

Views of Sjts. Hakim Ajmal Khan, Pandit Motilal Nehru and V.J.Patel.

These three have come to the conclusion that the only fitting answer to the Government for its uncontrolled repression, and the only effective means to save the construtive work from coming to a standstill was to smash the councils.

No doubt, it is beneath the dignity of non-coopeators to enter the councils especially when the majority of the leaders and workers who made such great sacrifieces were still imprisoned in the jails. During the last year and a half the political situation has changed; We cannot run away from the grim realities of the situation. Facts must be faced. The tactics and policies of the congress from time must necessarily such as are best calculated ensure success. They must be shaped to meet the special conditions of each period and must change with the change of conditions. Political tactics are never immutable. Mahatma Gandhi himself changed the policy of congress frequently according to the changing political situation ~~in the country - Instances-~~

If Boycott of councisl had been complete; if voters abstained from voting and if the candidates when elected

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refused to take their seats in the councils the Government would have yielded, but the voters did not completely abstain fèom going to the poolls; nor did the Moderates support the boycott; on the contrary stood for election and entered the councils; and cooperated with the Government. Indications are not wanting to show that some of the leading lights of the Moderate party had a hand even in Mahatmaji's prosecution- Recent speech of Lloyd George assuring the civil service that they would reamin the rue arbiters of India's desiny for all time to come- faint flutter in the dovecott of the moderates- a feeble resolution of protest in the council was passed- That was all.

Times have now changed, circumstances have altered---- The boycott of courts, schools and colleges have been relaxed by Mahatmaji at Bardoli . We must therefore adjust our programme and enter the Councils becuause the Government in the name of Law and order have been making use of the for repressing th non-cooperation Movement.

Having thus come to the conclusion, the Pro-Changers put forward the following proposals which in their view constitute the best and the most effective method of boycotting the councils- These are,

That the congress and the Khilafat (Conferenee) at their Gaya Sessions should declare that in view of the fact that the working of the Legislative Councils during their first term has, besides proving a great obstacle to the redress of the Khalafat and the Punjab wrongs and the speedy attainment of the Swarajya Caused great misery

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and hardship to the people; it is desirable that the followin steps should be taken in strict accordance with the principle of non-violent non-voope ation to avoid the recurrence of the evil.

1. Non-cooperators should contest the elections on the issue of the redress of Punjab and Khalafat wrongs and immediate Swarajya and make every endeavour to be returned in a majority.

2. If the non-coperators are returned in a majority large enough to prevent a quorum they should after taking their seats leave the council chamber in a body and take no part in the proceedings for the rest of the term. They should attend the council occasionally only for the purpose of preventing vacancies.

3. If the non-coope rators are returned in a majority but not large enough to prevent a quorum, they should oppose every measure of the Government including the budget and only move resoluions for the redress of the aforesaid wrongs andthe attainment of Swarajya-

4. If the non-coperators are returned in a majority, they should act as pointed out in No.2 and thus materially reduce the strength of the council.

As the new councils willnot assemble till January 1924 we further propose that the congress session of 1923 be held during the first instead of the last week of December and the matter be again brought up for the issue of a final mandate by the congress in view of the results of the election.

They next point out that merely going to the elctors to see their suffrage does not amount to cooperation with the Government as some of the no change leaders contend. no changers however consider that this is an act of merit. Further, they point out that the contesting of the elections by the non-cooperators, is also lutely necessary for working the constrictive programme, they believe that while carrying on the elector al campaign they have excellent opportunity for carrying on the congress propaganda by means of manifestoes and speeches. They also foresee the possibility of the Government changing the existing rules regarding elections to prevent the non-cooperators from contesting. If they deliberately keep us out eve the cooperators form contesting. If they deliberately keep us out even the pretence of the councils being represent tive institutions will disappear and the stupendo will be throughly exposed. The pro-changers feel that at this stage it is not possible to efine their policy clearly and place a definite programme before the countr for they will have adjust their policy to the lattitude of the Government towards them which may not remain the same without any change.. All that need be said at present that if conditions do not alter in the meantime we shall enter the councils to end them as they cannot be mended as we wish them to be.... In other words we shal non-cooperate./ Hitherto we tried the negative form of non-cooperation in regard to the councils and it failed to achieve the desired results in its entirety. We shall now try to active form of non-cooperation that is to say, enter the councils for actively obsctructing and paralysing the Government. Next the pro-changers answe seriatim the objections raised by the no-changers.

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CHAPTER VII.

OTHER PROPOSALS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.

These deal with (A) Local Bodies:-

Non cooperators to seek election to Municipalities and District or Local Boards with a view to facilitate the working of the constructive programme-

(B) Government Educational Institutions- The present active propaganda calling upon boys to come out of schools and colleges must be suspended- picketing and other forms of aggressive propaganda must be abandoned (c) Law courts, litigants and lawyers- For the presnet, workders should confine their activites to the establsihment of the Panchayats and making the efficient- Existing disqualifications of the practising Lawyers should be removed (f) British Goods objections against boycott (1) concieved as a measure of punishment (2) even as such it is not swift, certain adequate or effective, and (3) imprav icable- These objections are brushed aside by the majority of the membe s of the committee, and refer the whole matter to a committee of experts who should submit their report before the meeting of the next congress Note of dissent by Mr.C.Rajagopalachariar- Anoth er note by Mr. Pandit Motilal Nehru in reply to Mr. C.R.

CHAPTER VIII.

CONCLUSION.

Summary of Recommendations .

APPENDIXX I

Khilafat Enquiry Committee Report :

RECOMMENDATIONS:

(1) Under the present circumstances, it would be premature to resort to Mass civil disobedience.

(2) Every order which comes in the way of constrictive programme deserves to be disobeyed, and every indivudal has a right to disobey such order, and where such order is enforced against a district or part of it the District Khilafat committee be authorised to transgress and disobey that order.

Boycott of the British goods- The improta of the step requires that before its adoption, acommittee of experts andeconomists be appointed to report its findi to the Central Khalafat Committee.

APPENDIX II Press statements of Desabandu C.R.Das, Babu Hardayal Nag, G.Deshpande, Babu Rajedra Prasad, K.Nataraj Mr. Stokes, Bi Aman, Dwijendranath Tagore, M.R.Jayakar, M.Jinnah, T.Prakasam.

Appendix III Press Comments.

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CONGRESS LEAGUE SCHEME :

By A.Ranganswami Yengar.

This book describes and discusses the constitutional scheme prepared and submitted by the Indian National Congress and the All India Muslim League to the British Government. The matter is dealt with under three heads, the executive and the legislature, the financial proposals and the gneral discussion.

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INDIAN NATIONAL Congress:

40th Session, Cawnpore, 1925;

This consis ts of two parts , the English and the Hindustani. The Second is unimportant, as it appears to be a Hindustani version of the first-

Presidential speech- deals with political prisoners, the Indians in South Africa, Asiatic Federation, Hindu-Muslim differences_ appeal for unity.

Important Resolutions passed:--

On South Africa, Political prisoners, Expulsion of the Non-Burmans Bill, Congress franchise, and the future programme of the congress;

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REPORT OF THE SUB-COMMITTEE APPOINTED BY THE MPCC TO CONSIDER.

A scheme of Self-Government:

This is a small booklet- intend only for private circulation:-

Principles agreed on by the whole sub-committee:

(a) India shall have fiscal autonomy- subject to cettain charges- as military expenditure.

(b)Every District in a province shall elect at least one member to the provincial parliament;

(c) There shall shall beno nominated non-official members, but all non officials shall be elected;

(d) Permanent civil servants, shall have no place in the Legislature or Executive, but shall be a purely administrative body as in England;

(e) 1. All taxation shall be under the control of the Legislature;

2. All expenditure shall be under the control of the Legislature .

(f) The All India Legislature shall control the customs. It shall have no power over relations with countries outside the empire i.e. cannot conclude treaties with foreign powers, or the like.

(g) The governors the Governor-General shall be appointed by the crown for a fixed term of years;

(h) The electorate of the Provincial and All India Legislatures shall be so arranged as to represent adequately the whole people.

Owing to difference of opinion, alternate schemes are put forward regarding the Executive Council and Army and Navy and there is a long Note at the end by Mr. S.Srinivasa Iyengar about self-government.

CONGRESS IN OFFICE: Speeches and other contributions byC.R.Reddy

In these speeches and contributions Mr. C.R.Reddy deals with some aspects of the constitutional problems that habe arisen more especially those relating to the princes, Muslims and minorities and the need for a new type of constitution.

This book is divided into fourteen chapters:

I. Principles of Political Judgment- A general introduction to the mode approach to the political problems. The sections describing contemporary Indian Idealogies, Mahatma Gandhi's Idealistic Philosophy of Life, Thinking internationally, Federation and Congress ame of special interest.

II. Problems and Federation: This comprises two lectures delivered by Mr. Reddi one at the Law College, Nagpur and the other at Jeypore.

Indian Federation:- (1) The attitude of the British Government (2) The attitude of the Muslims (3) The attitude of the Hindu-Mahasabha (4) The attitude of the congress and (5) The attitude of t e Princes towards it are described difficulties are pointed out.

[illegible]at is the alternative if the Federation is rejected? Direc[illegible]tion? Constituent Assembly? Deadlocks in the Congress Provinces? With Wedlocks in Non-Congress- Mahatma Gandhi sees no light. When he does not light it means that there is drakness.

I would implore the Muslims, the princes and the Congressmen most earnestly to sink their differences, however deep they may be, and make of this great ge[illegible]

entity of 37 crores of people - a great people individually highly gifted- a real Political State and Power.

II Jeypore Speech:-

The issue at stake is an integral India- shall we maintain it or disrupt it? The problem arises only in connection with swaraj- whe ther Democratcic or otherwise. The First Hindrance, the Indian States. The princes refused. One big constitution produced by the Indians, the motilal Nehru constituion rejected by the Muslims- Muslim opposition, a greater hindrance.

Princes are against Radicalism and Democracy- The Muslims with their Pan-Uslamic outlook are against an All-India Federation-

British favour All-India Federation Its merit; It gives an integral India; it gives a National India but bot a democratic India- As a result of the contacts and xxxxx comradeships established it may gow i into a Democractic India.

Congress opposition: On twoxgrounds (1) the enormous power vested in the Viceroy (2) The Non-Democractic nature of the consitution- So the offical congress policy is rejection- To secure this end, a policy of National concentration adopted- Non-interference in the States, far deal between the Zamindar and the tenant and the between capital and Labour- As regards Muslims concessions as far as possible- Minimum antagonisms and changes and Maximum solidarity.

After the acceptance of office- change of policy - Policy of absorption- Direct Action- Can only be a last resort Abstention from interference in the internal affairs of the States- This is calculated to befriend the states and secure their goodwill- Attempt to absorb the Muslims- Although this was done to increase Indian solidarity, it exacerbated the feelings of the Muslims and widened the gulf separating the two communities.

The British Government is in a dilemma. States are reluctant . Congress is opposed- Muslims want a separate Federation for themselves. of Muslim States and Muslim Majority Provinces with Kashmir thrown in because the masses are Muslim and Hyderabad becuase the ruler is a Muslim- Disruption of India- that is a terrible possibility- Affiliation of a part of India to states outside India- that is a possibility yet more terrible.

Therefore Mr. Reddi wants the congress to accept the Federation, induce the Muslims to accept it and reopen negotiations with the Muslim League.

To produce the necessary atmosphere, it must offer cabinet seats in Provinces to the nominees of the League or to persons elected by a majority of the Muslim legislators- the former course being the better as it is always more advisable and helpful to deal with organizations instead of indivudals. And this without displacing the congress Muslim Ministers, either by increasing the number of Ministers or getting a self-sacrificing Hindu to vacate.

III Interview in the Mail: (19thSept. 1939)

In this interview Dr. C.R.Reddi made two suggestions the principle of which by a strange coincidence

soon after became pre-eminemt themes of interests, namely a National Directorate to regulate Indian policy during the War, and the Need for Hindu Muslim unity as the preliminery requsiite for constitutional advancement.

IV. Interview Published in the Indian Express: (25thOct 1939)

In this interview, Dr. Reddy criticises Gandjhi's views on the relationbetween the Majority and minority communities;

V. Consists of three lecture:- i. Delivered at the Madras University Researfh scholars Association, Madras on 14th November 1939;

ii. Delivered at the Law College, Madras 15th November 1939;

iii. Delivered at the Presidency College Union Society, 16th November 1939;

These lectures describe the points of view of the Indian National congress and the All India Muslim League.

Dr. Reddy demonstrates the incompatability of a parliamentary unitary cabinet system with safeguards and separte electorates for minorities.

VI. Interviews in the Mail:

(1) On 18th November 1939;

(2) On 1st December 1939;

He discusses in these interviews, the safeguards and speical electorates and the composite cabinets, and point out that weightage and safeguards are ineffective and points out that party systemis incompatible with the ideas of the congressmen.

VII Reply of Dr. C.R.Reddy to some Congress leaders on the Indian constituional Problem-

Article contributed to the January (1940) number of Twentieith Century.

The foloowing subjects are dealt with in this article-

(1) Value of Congressional Assurance- Dr. Reddy justified Lord Linlithgow's suggestion to the minorities to come togehter notwithstanding Mahatma Gandhi's assurance that their interests are safe in the hands of Congress.

(2) Separate electorates- Congress attitude not clear regarding joint and separate Electorates not clear. However C, is unanimous in conceding the right of the Muslims to have their own electorate- This is surrender to a powerful body which cannot be overridden and not a concession due to the conviction that separate electorate as such is absolutely good.

(3) Evaluation of Mahatma's assurance:

Gandhiji's assurance will not wash- unitary party cabinet type of Government inconsistent with safeguards and special representation of Minorities- sweet words butter no parsnips - Congress pledgesnot always honoured- The record of the Congress in this matter is clear but not clear.

(4) Separate Electorates and Totalitarian Policies- Congress refusal to allow the membe s elected by Separate Electoates into the Government a blunder Congress in this respect has pursued a totalitarian programme. congress sought to serve communal interests by making its own nominations- just as the bureaucratic Governments used to do- This is no more justifiable than the bureaucratic.

(5) Origin of the totalitarian Policy:-

(5) Origin of the Totalitarian Policy:-

The policy pursued by the Congress towards the other parties was based on the principle that the other parties should cease to have political significance if thee were to be allowed to exist. They employed unscrupulously as well as ruthlessly their doctrine that political salvation was possible only through Nirvana in the congress- In pursuit of this idea, the congressmen went back on their original pledge made before the elections that they would not enter into coalitions with other groups. Tje congress gave up all embracing Nationalist Platform became a sect after it got into power. transformed itself into an authoritatian and totalitarian body. The intolerant attitude of the congress towards what it denounces as communal parties, and even non-Gongressmen generally has had its root and being in their own settled principles.

(6) Deflection of the Congress from external to internal Problems .

Originally congress discipline was forged to enable it to fight against the foreign foe that is the British The congressmen should obey the leaders without asking the reason why. After office acceptance, this discipline was enforced on congress Legislators covering the field of India's internal problems- Silenced differences even among the orthodox- Authority unquestioned by those that put it in power was bound to lead to irresponsible Government and corruption.

VIII A Press communique by Dr. C.R.Reddy- Published in the Mail Jan 6th 1940:

VIII A Press Communique by Dr.C.R.Reddy:-

Published in the Mail- Jan-6th 1940:

In this communique Dr. C.R.Reddy deals with the explanation given by some congress leaders for their refusal to admit Muslim Leaguers into congress cabinets.

The explanation belated and unconvinving; The Explanation is that if they had admitted the Leaguers, it would have cuased differences in the cabinet, requiring the exercise of special powers of the governors which they were ditermined to nullify-

Dr.C.R.Reddy believes that it is unfair to Muslims-

IX- Jubilee Memorial Address-

Delivered at the Maharaj's College, Eranakulam. ::: Jan- 9th 1940:

(1)m Congress not a success:-

Refers to the tendency among congress leaders to take notice of criticisms- and desire to reconsider the princes on which t hey acted during the past 2½ year- Ramadass Pantulu suggests the formation of composite cabinets - advocated by S.Srinivasa Iyenger- Gopal Reddi our non-party a cabinets- T.T.Krishnamachari' s statement that under congress regime the people did not feel that they were under popular government and that under Advisers they were under an unpopular government.

Assuranve regarding safeguards- Assurance from the Government that the Governors would not use their special powers- The object of the con ress was to deprive the Governors of their special powers and to establish ful provincial autonomy- They succeeded; but they did not foresee that this would be interpreted by the minorities concerned

as the abolition of the safeguards provided for heir protection and would create in them resentment and revolt against what they felt was a violation of their right to be openly and fully safeguarded by the Governors. What was democracy for congres became autocracy over defenceless minorites- In the end what was wrecked was not the consitution but the possibility of a united national fron .

Unitary cabinets- of the British type favoured by the congress is not doubt domecratic in theiry but in practice a handy instrument of tatalitarian absolutism what is the result.

Mr. Jihhah's contention- In accordance with the constitution Act the Muslims claimed that they should appoint a minister possessing the confidence of the majority of the Muslim Legislators- Gongress Muslims do not have the confidence of the majority of the Muslim legislators- The Con ress against ehe appointment of a non-congress Muslim as a minister- The Governors unwilling to go against congress Prime Ministers, have allowed them to have their own way. If the Muslim have a grievance the congress is responsible for it and not the Governors.

Mr. Rajagopalachari's defence of unitary cabinets involves extinction of safeguards and separqte electorates an indirect manner without the express consent of the communities concerned - Congress does not completely ignore communal claims- A muslim a schemduled caste man, and some non-Brahmans appointed ministers.

Formation of composite cabinets urged- Possibilies of the constitution Act pointed out. Congress intolerance.-

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motto-'Those who are not with us are against us- And those who are against us are not merely wrong, but sinful - Tendency of of the Congressmen to imbibe old buraucratic ways condemned vehemently by them formerly- Influence of Gandhism on politics- financial implications fof charakistion and Prohibition.

Failure of opposition- disappearance of the Justice Party-

The three fold root of congress policies:-

(1) Its nature as an army fighting British Imperialism ;
(2) Its nature as slavation Army redeeming India and mankind;
(3) Its passion for arithmetical democracy as opposed ethnic federalism demanded by the Muslims-

But the arithmetical democracy is only one of form with them. In substance it functions as an authoritarian hierarchical organization Tests of Swaraj varied- kahaddar- Removal of untouchability and the Hindu-Muslim unity- The last two more important than the first- Re: removal of untouchability the service of the congress is invaluable- Re: Hindu - Muslim unity as well as the relationship with Indian States congress has failed- our Federation was to have been a tri-unity of States, Hindus and Muslim. The three are there indestrictible but clashing or moving away from each other.'

The old congress policy better- national concentration; a united front; non-intervention in the states; equitable settlement between Zamindar and tenant and between capital and labour- reconciliation between

maximum solidarity and minimum antagonisms, and internal class struggles to be postponed till after the Indi- Br problemm was satisfactorily solved.- All this is now rev Revival of the pre-gener l election spirit necessary- Secularisation of politics is also necessary- The semi-rel gious tone and pose obtaining in congress politics, such as satyagraha and ahimsa and the whole philosphy o simple life preached by congress leaders has created an impression that congress is Hindu in outlook and aims and spells danger to Muslim culture- The congress shoul be secular in its aims and methods.

Muslim League standpoint:-

(1) Muslims a nation- not a minority or community like others- (2) Muslim League the sold representative of th Muslims (3) Muslims should have equal voice in determin in all matters- wont't be satisfied with safeguards (4) Arithmetical democracy unacceptable to Muslims- Tho small in numbers they must treated on a footing of equality-

Mr. Vallabhai Patel refuses to treat Muslim Leagu as the sole pepresentative of the Muslim people of Indi Attitude correct from the point of view of unitary Nationalism- Jinnah's attitude correct from the standpo of Muslim Natiomlism- Impasse- Is there a way out? Th Muslim MLA's and MLC's may be asked by means of vote to decide the question, whether the Muslim League is the s representatives of the Muslims or not- This is the o solution s uggested by Dr. Reddy- cuases of League-

The attempt of the congress to dissolve all communal parties and make itself the sole political organization to deal or negotiate with British Imperialism. In pursuance of this object, the congress adopted the following measures- Mass contact with Muslims, setting up congress Muslim candidates against Muslim League candidates, refusing to allow Muslim League representatives to ijto the cabinets of provines, attempts to upset Muslim ministries and nullifying the safeguards by adopting fascistic methods.

In addition to these Muslims fear that their culture is endangered by the revivalistic Hindu ideaology and the Policies of the congress.

Prospect: Dr. C.R.Reddy approves of Mr. Jinnah's demand for the appointment of a Royal Commission- constituent Assembly and some other constrictive ideas discussed.

X. Speech delivered on the occasion of unveiling the statue of H.H. Maharahah of Cochin at Trichur Jan. 10-1949;

In this speech Dr. Reddi discusses the position of the Princes in the life and constitution of India;

XI. Speech delivered at a Garden Party given to him by the Muslims at the woodlands Royapettach- Jan 15- 1940.

Discusses the constitutional right of the Muslim MLA's and Muslim MLC's to decide which organization is the spokesman of the Muslims, and the urgent need of the composite governments.

XII . On the idea of confederation in its application to the structure of the Central Govt- or the Essentials of a new constitution for India- The 1935 constitution must be abolished-

Central Government a confederation- soveriegn status vesting in the States and the provinces joining;

Composite Goverts. with fixed tenure- irremovable by legislature- becuase with the present unitary cabinets neither the princes, nor the Muslims and minorities can come in.

Irremovable cabinets lends itself to a composite character- unitary cabinet have destroyed the unity of the country; therefore composite cabinets, must be adopted.

Provincial basesmust supplant population basis- at least the executive must represent the confederate Govts. and not populations. Place of States in the Executive- Hyderabad Baroda, Mysore Kashmir, Travancore, two- by rotation- Minor states- 1 to be elected by the chamber of Princes-

Each province:- 1 to be selectedby the viceroy on the recommendation of the State Govts.-

PROVINCES:
Executive similar to that of the centre- Statory pllaces to Muslims and schemduled castes- 1/6 of the executive allotted to each- the remaining 2/3 to be filled otherwise- Executive need not necessarily be the members of the Legislature-

XIII Principle of Separation of powers and other ideas on the Indian constitutional problem - Article- The Madras Mail- 5-2-1940;

XIV Concluding summary and sequence of ideas by Dr. C.R.Reddy.

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COMMUNISTS AND CONGRESS:-

A thesis on the role of the Indian communists in the struggle for the complete Independence of India: Socialist Literature Publishing Coy. Agra.1938:

Small pamphlet of 22 pages- consiting of (1) Editors Note (2) The congres and the communits (3) Appendix- Probably prepared by a Krishnaswami-

(1) has the following:-

"The immediate task before us is the liberation of the Indian people and the creation of a demoracric regime, and to become a decisive force inside the congress which has grown into the central mass political organisation of the Indian people ranged against British Imperialism.

This pamphlet also will clarify the position of the communits, particularly in view of the Mischievous communique, issued by the Government of Madras warning the public against communist propaganda, alledged to be leaflets against the communist party of India which pary as every one knows is under Ban.

Socialism the final goal of the communists- But the immediate task befo e us is liberation of the Indian people and the creation of the democratic regime.

'The Indian proletariat will not be able to fit itself for the task of social emancipation of the toiling masses unless it participates in the political struggle, which is raging in our coun ry, unless it comes forward as the boldest champion of the democratic rights of the Indian people as a whole, unless it flings itself into the front rank of the struggle for freedim which is

is going on under the leadership of the National congress, broadening and unifying it into the whole people's struggle against the foreign Imperialism.

So far communiss remaine aloof from the national movement - every class and mass rising symptoms of revolution this an overestimate- for masses not quick in abandoining the position of reformson; since the Swarajist days of 1926-27, the congress has grown into the central mass political organization of the Indian people ranged against imperialism. It has achived the growing unity of the Indian people on the bais of a programme which corresponds to the needs of the overwhelming majority of our people and also the the present stage of our anti-imperialist struggle- we the communits must broadne the unity already achieved under the Indian National congress and trasform into the unity of the National Front of the Indian people fighting for indiependece and democarcy.

By making a determined effort to broaden the basis of the congress and by uniting with its activites in an increasing measure, the political massactions of workers and peasants, it would be possible to hurl the entire strength of the united National Front against Imperialism, and in the process successfully neutralise the conciliatory drift of a part of the leadership. In other words, the possibility of our entering the National con ress in order to strengthen it with ou t allowing any section of its leadership to split off, is greater than ever.

With the acceptance of Ministri s by the congress, new possibilites are opened up . It would be absolutely incorrect to say that the acceptance has transformed the

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the vongress into an ally of Imperialism or made the congress ministris parts of the imperialist State- Precisely because the congress is the leading anti-imperialist organization in the country, pr cisely because the congress ministers are pledged to carry out its programme of national liberation it becomes possible today to develop mass initiative to quicken the tempo of the movement, to take full advantage of extension of democratic libe ties in order to use the Ministerial offices to strengthen the extra-parliamentary mass movement. The congress ministreis are not allies imperialism and cannot become so as long as they remain, congress ministries- They are an integral part of the united National Front.

The communists must make a sharp turn towards the path of national political action and for this end we must begin to work wholeharetedly with and within the National congress.

By our direct participation in and effeotive leadershipof the daily struggles of the workders, peasants and other sections of our people we must convert the congress units into real defenders of the exploited and oppressed people against the bureaucracy and anti-national vest d interests, into living units of the united National Front in action, achieving in this way the prints of collective affiliation in practice before it is finally secured.

It would not be possible for the communists to become a political force in the country unless we make a decisive turn in our whole attitude towards the Indian National congress, unless we become a decisive

force inside the congress itself unifying the entire left and its socialist core to implement the policy of building up the United Nationala Front on the basis of the national congress, and of which policy we must come forward as the most consistent and sincere Cahmpions. Not only must every one of us become a member, of the congress but we must launch an intense campaigh for the individual enrolment of workders enmass in the congress. The enrolment campaigh must be conducted under the slogans;-

(1) Strengthen the congress to fight the imposition of the Federation;

(2) The congress must support and defend demans of the working measses and their write of organization.

(3) Democratic the congress and develop local initiative of the primarities in holding united Front demonstrations and in organizing and supporting united front actions.

Appendix:-

At Lucknow the congress President, comrade Jawaharlal Nehru said- The essense of the joint popular front must be uncomprosming opposition to Imperialism and the strenth of it must inevitably come from the active participation of the peasantry and workders.

All-India Trade union congress Resolution in the Bombay Session:

to develop the National congress and transform it into the Anti-Imperialist people(s Front, and put forward a concrete plan of collective affiliation of labour unions to the congress- and to support it in the coming elections in developing a mass movement against the constitution.

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APPENDIX:

At Lucknow the congress President, comrade Jawaharlal Nehru said:-

The essence of the joint popular front must be uncompromising opposition to Imperialism and the strength of it must inevitably come from the active participation of the peasantry and workers.

All-Indi Trade union congress Resolution in the Bombay Session:-

to deve op the National congress and transform it into the Anti-Imperialist people(s Front, and put forward a concrete plan of collective affiliation of labour unions to the congress- and to support it in the coming elections in developing a mass movement against the constitution.

Eight month later at Farizapur comrade Nehru again siad,

The active participation of the organized workers and peasants in usch a Front must be wlecomed. Cooperation between them and the congress has been a marked feature of the past year. The tendency must be encouraged?

The task- the Joint National Front to combat the consitution How? tow ways (1) Reform and (2)Revolution. The communits favour Revolution; they do not abolish the class conflict but for the purpose of securing unity and strenth for fighting the Imperialists, they postpone it and join hands capitalists, landlords and other vest d interests; and when this object is realised, and the imperailsim is over thrown and independence achieved, measures may be concerted for achieving the ultimate object.

NON-COOPERATION IN OTHER LAND By A Fenner Brockway:

In the prefatory the author States:-

The first duty of Englishman in regard to India is to seek to educate, not the Indian people but his own countrymen to a knowledge of the tyranny of the British rule to shtat the stain shall be removed from the English name. Indian freedom can be won only by the Indian people themselves. An Englishman can help them to realise this, he cannot do more. The author is a believer in non-violence is against was and has gone to prison in the first world war as paificst but while under going imprisonment the conviction grew up in his mind that evil should be reisted by non-cooperating with it, Thus Fenner Brachway became a non-violent non-cooperator. The book is divied into twelve sections- in each of which one of the followin topics is dealt with.

1. Classic case of Hungary.
2. How Francis Deak defred Austria;
3. The Triumph of Hungarain Nationalism.
4. How the British Government betryed Egypt.
5. How Egypt convinced Milner.
6. How Japanese Imperialism stole Korea.
7. The Answer peace conference gave to Korea;
8. How the Koreans declared an independent republic
9. Korean Republic and the Japanese terror.
10. Outline of Sinn Fein Policy.
11. How the Irin established a Republican Government.
12. How Sinn Fein capturud the Administration.

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Books such as these by the European and specially English authors gave a good deal of impetus to the spred of Non-cooperation Movement in India- They taught the Indian that their freedom was their birth-right and that they were right in attemtping to wrest it from the alien British Government.

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INDIAN CONSTITUTION: :By V.S.Krishnaswamy.

This is a regular text book on the development of Indian Constitution intended for students. It traces the development of British Indian Administration from the time of the East India company up to 1933. The last chapt XVII. Indian in the melting pot sums of the constitutional position of the country at the time. The three R.T.C. ses expectations of a New India Act. The Government of India is expected tobe federal structure. In the concluding sentence of the book, the author hopes that a constituion will evolve and India may be won over and at the same time be content as a Dominion- an equal partner within the charmed circle of the British commonwealth of the nations.

THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION AND ITS ACTUAL WORKING :

By Debendranath Benerjee.

This is the third edition- This is another text book on the Indian constitution under which our country was governed in 1933; but more elaborate than the previous one.

This is a treatise on the Indian consti under Minto-Morely dispensation.

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THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION By A.Rangaswami Iyengar.

This is said to be an Introductory Study. A text book on the Indian constitutionobtaining at the time.

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The Indian Constitution: by V.S.Krishnaswamiy :Madras-1937:

This is the second and revised edition of the work publishedxbyxthex in 1933. The revision and the enlargement says the author became imperative in view of the constitutional changes introduced by the Government of India Act. 1935. It is entended to serve the needs of the students of law and politics.

The book is divided into five parts:-

(1) India under East India company;
(2) India uunder the crown (1858-1919);
(3) The existing constitution, general and the India Act 1935;
(4) Indian Finance, Indian Army, Indian states etc.
(5) Detailed Analysis of the Government of India Act 1935;

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INDIAN STATES AND THE FEDERATION- By Col Sir K.Haskar.

Address delivered to the European Progressive Group, Bombay. He feels that in Federatiob not only the States will have an opportunity which they never had before, but also because in Federation India as a whole will have the bed chance of unity, development and porgress that it has ever had throughout its chequered and variated history.

The problem of Federation is extremely complex- 1935 Act considered unsatisfactory both by the States and

and British India for different reasons. The States which were ve y enthusiastic about Federation in 1930 became very nervous and hesitant. The reason for this is to be sought in the Government of India Act of 1935. They are political as well as economical. The whole address is devoted to justify the attitude of the States.

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THE REVISION OF THE CONSITUTION: By M.Ruthnaswami .

The papers on constitutional reform in India, says the author , were first published in the periodical called the week. They are now published in a book form because he thinks that they make some contribution to the constitutional and political debate that is now proceeding in India and will later on be continued in England.

The book is divided into fourteen chapters:-

I.The Method of Revision;
II. The principles of Revision;
III Local Self -Government;
IV The provincial Government;
V The Central Government;
VI The destribtuion of powers;
VII Question of Second chambers;
VIII The Franchise;
IX the Civil Service;
XThe judiciary Reforms;
XI Army and constitution;
XII Indian States and Reforms;
XIII Social Foundat ons;
XIV The End.

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The concluding sentences give an insight into the working of the mind of the author.

We need not pause to consider how ancient the wrongs of India are whether they date from the beginning of the British rule or from the dawn of the Indian History. But whatever the date, the fact of the wrongs from which India has suffer d through the centuries- The wrangling grip of custom, the claumny hold of the Dead Hand, the spirit of division incorporated in the institution of caste and consequent denial of poliitcal unity, liberty, national self-government, and the servitude of the conquered. The fact of these wrongs cannot be dened. It is an opportunity of avenging an ancient wrong that presents itself to the staturoy commission and the British Parliament- Their great opportunity requires that they shall be qual to it."

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Composite Governments in Provinces and Centre:

The author is a victim of Brhaman phobia. Then he styles himself a Sath Sastri and Sath Brahmana, he is a Kamma (Sudra) caste. He is extremely communal. This pamphlet is more intended to revile the Brahman community than to offer any scheme of political and constitutional reform.

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CONSTITUTIONS OF THE WORLD (A comparactive Study).

By Dr.B.Pattabhisitaramayya:

The author and his collaborators Mwssrs R.R$_a$ghava Menon of Palaghat and B.Gopala Reddi of Buchireddipalem have presented in an analytical tabular form the constitutions of the important countries of the world.

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THE FEDERAL IDEA: By Sir C.P.Ramaswamy Iyer:

The author traces in this lecture the Federal Idea and its development through ages- only pp 16-18 have some bearing on the constitutional Reform in India.

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NUTANA RAJYAGAN CHATTAM By K.Radhakrishnamurthy :

In a short preface, the author describes briefly the subject matter of his booklet.

In this book are described brifely the importance of the constitution the Good and evil aspects in the constitution of various countryes and how to frame a constitution free from defects. It is requested that the scheme suggested here must be examined with a dispassion ate view without any bias of party, group or school of thought keeping in mind how to frame a constitution which promotes the physical and mental welfare of the people as a whole.

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I. Section- Important problems: The people have now obtained the right to determine their future-. How they are going to exercise it is the first problem. The constituent Assembly is about to meet in Delhi- Congressmen are in the Majority- They have no definite idea What they should do- Next in importance is the Muslim League- nor are the Muslim League people more definite in their ideas- A third of the coutry is unde the Indian princes. The princes are an anachronism in the 20th Century- They are an impediment to the progress of the people. Therefore he states should be abolished, and the territories under their rule should be annexed to the provinces.

Second Problem: Hindu-Muslim unity. This is a very old problem- to do justice to both the parties, masses must be considered and not the parties- masses consist of cultivators and labourers who are immersed in pverty- What they desire is not- Akahanda- Hindustan or Pakistan but food clothing and education. If the Muslims what to separate themselves from the Hindus, they have as much as the Indians have in asking the British to quit India This right however should not be enforced so as to involve the enslavement of one community by the other or the domination one over the other. The constitution that is about to be framed should be such tht it will tend to promote the interests of the masses, while dividing the country according to the language religion and culture; and that all the province should be completely autonomous Without interference from the Centre. The Constitution must bestow the right on the provinces without obstriction from the centre. if by a majority they desire to seceded and assert their independence. By this neither- the Hindus nor the Muslims stand to lose; if they like they live together, otherwise each community goes its own

way- As their governments are based on the ame constitution their wont be any scope for war between them or one community to dominat the other.

Third Problem:- The problem of minorities- The minorities such as the Sikhs, the Christian, Parsees and the depressed classes should have separate electorates, and adequate safeguards should be provided for protecting their respective interests.

These three should be kept while framing the new constitution.

II Legislators: In a section called Chatta- NirmataluI

The authors criticism of the nationalists- his is of opinion that they are creatures of the social and intellectual environment and they cannot see beyond it. He wants his legislators to be people who can look into the future shape the destineies posterity and remove all obstacles which are likely to impede its progress. People belonging to a particular society, religion, or group with limited vision bent on securing benefits for themselves or their group or religion cannot frame a constitution which promotes the progress the whole people. Only those who are able to digest fully the revolutionary principles and acts transcend the intellectual slavery and capable of guiding society on progressive lines in the fields of politics economics and morality are most fitted to be the legislators. He divedes the members of the constituent assembly that were at Delhi at that timeinto three classes congressmen, Muslim Leaguers, and the representatiges of the States whom he declares unfit for drawing up a constitution.

There is no limit for man's freedom- That which enables a man to be happy physically and intellectually is independence. Man attains happiness by satisfying his desires- but not ny suppressing desires or acting without a care for his desires. As man's knowledge increases, he is able to establish his mastery over Nature and satisfy his desires. He who avoids the world he cannot suvjucate Nature- To acquire real freedom physically and mentally, man must be completely freed from bondage. He must be given political freedom in the fullest measure; he must be freed from domination to others. The conomic inequality which involves the plunder of the weak by the strong must be abolished. He must be so educated as to enable to make himself the architect of his own future. The ideals of the congress are incompataible with what is stated above; therefore it isnot possible for congressmen to frame a constitution which promote the interests of the people . In the section called 'Adharsam' the author describes his ideal- The constitutions of all the countries of the world must be carefully studies; their best features must be incorporated. There should be no room for the defects in it. Four objects must be kept in view in creating a constitution to promote without obstruction man's happiness (1) peace (2) Mutal coopera tion (3) Satisfaction of physical wants and (4) freedom. These four do not specially pertain to any one nation or people. They are common to the whole human race. Therefore every human being has a right to possess and enjoy them. To reject the defects and acceptments in the onward march of man is called the progress. There is no room for mine and thine in it.

In the section on political power, the author expresses the opinion that so long as inequalitytries social as well as economical, free trade and predatory

policities continue, the people cannot make any progress, though they are give full political powers; for they will nto be in a position so long as they are immersed in poverty to increase their knowledge and make proper use of their political power. Therefore, the constitution must transfer to the peo(e economic rights together with political power. In the constitution which we are about to frame, political power must be completely handed over to the people together with the control over the economic resource so that they may reorganize society as described above. In this matter, Russia had taken a long stride an has advanced far on the road of progress; but Russia has also favoured dictorarship which is absolute in character and a negation of freedom- Therefore in drafting the constitution steps must be taken to prevent the rise of dictatorship while ensuring the equality and freedom of the people.

In the section called svatantryam that is Freedom the author points out that though he free by nature, his freedom is restricted by limitations either by the society or country. Neither Parliamentary democracy nor communism cannot secure to man his proper place in the community; there ore he has depend on others for his protection. The single party system prevailing in the totalitarian states leads to the establishment of dictatorship and the destruction of the indivudal Freedom. Therefore a consitution which does not involved in the destruction of indivudal freedom must be drafted. This fundamental right of the man must be clearly defined and described in the constitution in the form of his civil rights. It must safegaruard three freedoms., freedom of speech, freedom of association andfreedom of the press, no restrictio

should be placed on his ideas and intellectual development no one should be arrested; his house should not be searched and his property should not be attached or confiscated if he happens to differ from the Government and propagate his ideas contrary to the interests of the state- There should be lawful and independents courts where he courts where he could get justice . Every one should have the freedom to practice his religion. Women should be given equal rights with men; and the minorities should be protected, and their freedom should be safeguarded. To save man from falling a victim to despotism and tyranny, the constitution should made sufficient provision not only for protecting his freedom which is his birth-right but also to development of his material and intellectual progress.

While rejecting the cpitalist, labour forms of governments aswell as dictatorships as unsuitable, to make an attempt to create a fresh type of dictatorship is not the proper way for establishing freedom. It is opposed to freedom; for freedom is not the exclusive property of any group or party; it belongs to the whole of human society; to enable all to enjoy this freedom, a new and independent way should be found in making the constitution; Keeping some ideal in view if it is argued that for the attainment of that ideal any kind weapon could be used freedom itself will be endangered. Freedom must manifest and itself in the means adopted by us in framing the constitution. Freedom is not a thing to be enjoyed only in the realm of ideas. It is embodied in the day to day life of human beings. To enjoy the civic rights getting rid of all obstrictions is t e attainment of freedom. It is the dut of the legislators to see that these are embodied in the constitution, so that they

may come into use without obstacles or obstruction.
The next section is devoted to a description of the proposal put forward by Mr. M.N.Roy. The Chief items th t are included in this section are (1) Native States (2) Self-determination (3) Protection of the minorities (4) Political powe (5) Popular control of economic factors and (6) Civil Rights.-

This scheme is commended to the consideration of the legislators.

Conclusion:-

The author is of opinion that the consitution drafted by them should not be at once be accepted. It must be submitted to the people; and if must come into operation only after it is approved by the people.

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COMMUNISM- Doctorine and Acts: By Rev. Fr. Zacharias OCD

This book is a condemnation of communism by a Roaman Catholic priets. At first he describes the origin of communism- Next in section (2) he gives a definition of communism in section 3- he describes the philosphical aspect of communism in section 4- he gives an ideaof the communist view of human nature (5) he attempts to find the reason of the communisticeattitude of mind (6) he deals with communism and its attitude towards the family (7) He describes means adopted by communits in educating children (8) class distinction and communism)9) communism and class war (10) he shows how social reconstruction is carried through terrorism.

(11) how communism makes a man the slave of the state (112) He explains the communistic view of Religion (13) their campaign against religion (14) he seeks to find why communism should anti-religious (15) he describes the communist standard of morality (16) their philosphical and cultural knowledge (17) he explians the attitude of the communists towards private property (18) communism and its economic policy (19) He describes some economic ideals of communism and their drawbacks.

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THE OUTCASTE By Sri Shanti Asrama :

The Asraman is siad to have been founded in memory of Swami Rama Tirthaji.

This is a pamphlet which views untouchability from a Philosophical standpoint, and assures the untouchables that they are the rest of humanity are the manifestations of the Brahman. The following exhortation is interesting. 'Let peace and love alone flow from you towards the whole of humanity. Forget the weak notion that you are an outcaste. One who lives as one with the Lord is indeed out of caste and can never be an outcaste. But one becomes an outcaste by forgetting the Divinity. So bury not your divinity in ignorance . Let God in you be ever self-shining. Do not confine Him to forms and names. See Him and feel him all around you.'

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THE DEPRESSED CLASSES AND CHRISTIANITY By Philip.P.O.

In the foreward Mr. P.O. Philip that this pamphlet is the outcome of a resolution of NCC at Waltair in Nov. 5-11-1924 that the Secretariat of the Council be asked to prepare a statement with the object of informing the Public Christian and non christian, about the christian movement among the outcastes.

The following topics are dealt with in the synopsis;-

Origin of untouchability- its removal essential for the progress of India.;

Christian Missionaries pioneers in the work;

The Main groups of the Depressed classes, and their social and economic conditions.

The chruas chamas and Bhajgis of Northern India

Mahars, and Manges of Western India

Malas and Madigas of the Telugu coutry

Pulayas Cherumas and Pariahs of Malabar

The aboriginal Tribes.

The Religion of the Depressed Classes

The motive for missionary work among the depressed classes

Their response to the christian message.

The extent of their movement to christianity. Everything to gain and nothing to lose not true.

The motives in ope tion not altogether spritituаl but not unworthy.

Educational efforts central to the work of the elevation of the untouchables.

Number of schools and pupils.

How missions are trying to solve some of the problems of rural education. Cooperative societies as an uplifting

agency, settlements and farm colonies ; Training in self government imparted through Church organizations- Training in self-government imparted through charuch organizations- Trainin in giving some facts about the amounts christians contibute- Hos chritian missions helped the cuase of women in India- Awakening of the public conscience to the evils of untouchability and stimuls given to non-christian agencies for starting work for the depressed classes- objections to mass movements. Are missionaries creating a new community and this aggravating the countrys communal difficultieis. The new attitude regarding change of faith. Unity conference at Delhi Inluences at work iwhtin the Christian community. Are missionaries denationalising their converts? Changed outlook among missionaries. Success of Indian Christians placed in positition of learship in mass movement work. caste among the christians. Do mass movements prevent Indian christianity from coming to its own? The challenge of the situation to the Indian chrisitans."

The book desires to be carefully studied- it presents missionary and christian point of view- It must be noted that the christian missionaries are not so much interested in the untaouchble not so much becuase they are depressed and downtrodden but because they serve as a rich field for their proselytizing activities - They are really after securing converts to their faith; and their philonthrophic and humanitarian zeal is only a means to secure that end.

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THE MEANING OF NON-COOPERATION-

By C.F.Andrews.

This booklets consists of four letters addressed to certain pessons in England by Rev. E.E. Andrews:-

The first letter deals with four points:-

Non-Cooperation is not antichristian but a principle approved by christ- who himself- was the example for all time, of the principle involved in it; for he unflishcingly refused to cooperate with ebil : This is the great refusal. This is the non-cooperation. The Indians have adopted this principle, sacrificed everyth and gained their souls. Even if England offer her wealth plenty, peace, protection, prosperity within he spacious empire, and as the price of it, this compromise with her inner nature, India will refuse. She will refuse to cooperate. The maintenance of British authority which is profitable to Britian is consi deredto render happy people under our rule. This is a mistake. Discontentment everywhere in British Empire. Just as Englishman donot want reain dependent to others, Infians also do not want to continue as the dependents of Britian and strive for indepdence. The necessity for an understanding between the East and the West. Future of Human race depends on that understanding. First requisite is mutual respect. Europe's treatment of Asia and Africa predatory. Would you not stand up on behalf of subject countries and fight for their freedom. We are not asking for a battle of violences and bloodshed. Rather we are asking for a battle of suffering and endurance, a battke of the cross- without striking a blow- one of the most chrititian thing-

NC in India is worked out on the same principles by Gandhi the leader of P.R. movement in S.A.- "In its essence it implies the resistence of evil, by forbearance and not by violence by endurance, not for force, by suffering not by slaughter. It regards the domination and subjection of India by a foreign country, such as England with abhorence as an evil thing. It is determined not to cooperate with evil and make it permanent.

Englishmen may say- We englishmen are not dominating or subjecting India for force. As fast we can, are actually giving India fteeddom within our British Empire.- Reply

Freedom is the birth right everyman-
Freedom is not a mendicants dole.
To be thrust in a beggar's beegin bowls.
It is a gift of the soul , to be won by self- purification and self-sacrifice. That is the whole crux of the Indian Struggle for liberty. If England insists on giving India what English politicaians tod-ay are pleased to call freedom- In English politicans own way at the English politicians own time and at the English Politician's own discreition, then that it is no freedom at all.

Notwithstanding the reforms, the character of the government remains unchanged. The Governmment is carried on through brute force and racial arrogance. The autocracy of the Government is not shaken. The Government do not pay heed to the sufferings of the people. and oppress them in many ways. The people have recognized Mahatma Gandhi a true deliverer from oppression. They have seen in him a true healer of India's festering wounds. And they have been quite clear in their determination to stand a part from the unpopular Government to work out their own salvation. This is what has happend in India

The trusteeship Tehory: England's obession:-

Members of the Anglo-Saxon race- the world{s Policemen our duty to protect India from all dangers both internal and external.and in consequence we cannot leave things alone, or let any new movements of independence develop. We do not perform all these protective duties for nothing. Though no direct taxes are levied much again accures to us by means of trade. Saving grace of the AS race, an uneasy moral conscience. don't like being caught out while doing mean or sordid acts. We try to defend ourselves- Englishmen are double minded. We strive to serve both god and Mammon.

Our conquest of India has no moral justification- We stole India? We are disturbed by an uneasy conscience- We therefore justify our theft by exercising a pecularly trust. This has left its mark on British Administration. Indians have been disarmed- because they may use their weapons against Englishmen, though the excuse that they may turn their weapons against one another and injure themselves. Every Department to be entrusted to an Englishman- for nothing must be allowed to go wrong under British patronage. If inspite of precautions anything went wrong an English official should come to the resucue. All initiative has to proceed from Englishmen. Education must be in English through English books- Notwithstanding the education, the Indians are not supposed to know the needs of their own country as well as the beneficient English ~~ralers~~.

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It may be stated in reply that all this has changed-Though certain reforms have been introduced no real and essential changes- The character of the Government remains as autocratic as ever.

The Englishman's non-Cooperation:-

Indians divided into three categories- those that are ignorant of English, those that are English educated but vernacular-minded and those that are English educated and English-minded- English men cooperated with the last but non-cooperated with the other two.

So long as the Englishmen desire to rule and not to serve and so long as they do not cooperate with the Indians Dyarchy is not possible-

Englishmen not singleminded and disinterested- They must purify themselves to understand Mahatma Gandhi's new national movement.

OPPRESSION OF THE POOR;

Gandhi not a politician but a socrates of the East- Resembles christ.

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THE PHILOSOPHY OF NON-COOPERATION AND OF SPIRITUAL POLITICAL SWARAJ.

By Bhagavan Das.

The booklet originally appeared as a series of articles contributed by the author to the Madras Daily Swarajya in March and April 1922. A fresh chapter, What is spritial Political Swaraj has been added.

In the foreward the author attempts to define swaraj. The true and essential commotation of the word is the raj, the rule of the community, by its true Siva or higher self its wisest ime. its most experienced and most philonthrapic men and women.

In Chapter 1 he describes the world unrest; chapter ii. NCO its evil side and its evils pointed out; Chapter iii. Direct Action considered; direct action blamed. the direct action by the people not worse than directi action by men in powe i.e. Government. Evil political or otherwise is not overthrown except by direct action. It is peoples remedy against the espirit de corps of the Bureaucracy. Dangers of Direct Action guarded against in Ancient Tradition- The Raj and the Bureaucrat- The false swarajya of the Indian States- The Meaning of self-determination- IV. Bonafidas- AICC and PCC members not workders but middle class people with a st ke in the country- They are on the side of NCO bec use of the tryanny and oppression of the Government. V. Public and Public servant. (a) separation of activities not possible. All apsects of human life are inseparably bound together (b) Governments cannot keep Departments disconnected for

they all subserve one purpose- (c) organization of the Government and the organization of the people; the latter consequence of the former (d) violence and non-violence (e) the national debt the achilles heel- economic bankruptcy- Governments are not overthrown but the commit suicide (f) NCO not an utter failure in every respect as the govt. officials and the Anglo-Indian papers would have us believe- the deficit budgets, saving of the people from drink and litigation and exploitation by foreign industries; decreases in the revenue from the excise stamps and customs show that NCO had at least achieved some temporary success. (g) Government finances and Congress finances. Ncols twitted over the failure in certain provinces to make of their quota Swaraj Fund- The recnt Bankrupt Budget of the Government. bled Indian white. (H) loyalt - A suspeicion of India loyalty- do not trust Indians- result- butchery at Amritsar and elsewhere (I) The Budget- Huge salaries of Top men cannot be reduced- status in direct ratio to the slary- military expenditure allows up about 2/3 of the to al revenue- Education and Industries starved sacarcity of food for people- burden of taxation- Internal condition alleged to be the direct cause of huge expenditure - people rebellions- must be kept in order- Extraa military and extra - police more expenditure more taxes- people unable to bear oppression- Hence NCO. VI. Britishman especially when in office, asserts that he has conquered this country by the sword holds it by the powe of the sword and if it is to be taken from him it must be taken by the sword. he cannot walk out of India, but must remain there to maintain law and order, that is enforce his authority- The Indians not in the office but in the street, the workshops, the fields etc. think and speak of equality, liberty,

fraternity. Hence non-cooperation and the non-cooperators- Such is the state of affairs- Pride in the public servants post, and greed in his and his friend capitalists heart, on the one side and defiance in the Public eye on the other. Militarism plus capitalism on one side emotional patriotism and laborism and rights of man on the other. Neither particares to investigate the root causes of the whole difficulty. All a fight for power on both sides, not for righteousness. The real issue is who should wield power the bureaucracy or the representatives of the people. This should be settled first. The first foremost and most essential thing is political reform; If the quarrel does not abate, if the bureaucrats, whether European or Indian cling to power, then and then only there would be good reason and clear conscience in carrying on the non-violent struggle ever more and more strenuously for a clearly visualised goal. The reformers should not relax their efforts, they should come forward with schemes of administration so as to secure the greatest happiness of the greatest number, and not the greatest cash and power and glory of the smallest number. If there is any rule at all then always there must be carried on by the ruling minority, though they are elected to their offices they cannot be put up and pulled down every day. Ethical fitness of the legislators and officials is much more important than their intellectual physical fitness. Every programme of

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Every programme of politcal reform should first of all provide for this. The fear of dismissal should be replaced by love of the people and then only will government by fear be changed into rule or rather service by love.

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THE END.

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